10¢ MARCH 27, 1950

New Republic

PHILIP MURRAY ON: WHAT UNION LABOR WANTS

CALIFORNIA'S LOYALTY OATH

By JEAN BEGEMAN

POISONING THE SKIES

By BRUCE BLIVEN

THE CHURCHES KILL AID FOR THE SCHOOLS

AN EDITORIAL

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N.Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

IN THIS COLUMN'S judgment Secretary Acheson will weather the attacks on him. We believe that his political enemies underestimate him and the situation. The charges against the cool, bland, aristocratic Secretary of State are conflicting: he has been "soft" to Russia; he has failed to appease Russia. These largely cancel each other out. Unless Senator McCarthy is able to produce another Hiss case, which seems unlikely, his blatherskite attacks will aid Acheson, not injure him. Even Republicans are cool to McCarthy. His absence when Dorothy Kenyon made her brilliant reply was one of the most contemptible acts in a long time. There should be a law requiring Congressional character-assassins to hear the answers of their intended victims.

Contrary to many, we believe that Acheson's moral stamina in commenting on the Hiss case will ultimately strengthen him. The American public likes people with guts. That is the kind of person to handle Russia.

A sense of balance is difficult at this time. There is great drama in the situation. Acheson is caught in a two-front engagement: Joe McCarthy at home, Joe Stalin abroad. It is not enough, however, to be for Acheson merely because McCarthy is against him.

Acheson's Berkeley, California, speech was accurate but negative. It had been planned for three months. So far as it went, it was realistic. A moral chasm yawns between Russia and America. But the alternative to coexistence is hydrogen-bomb warfare. We do not believe that the public is prepared to accept the inevitability of the latter until the possibilities of coexistence are explored. We believe that the beginnings of such explorations are in progress. We also understand that a Truman speech may finally be forthcoming. It should have been made weeks ago.

Last week *Life* informed the nation with finality that "Mr. Acheson has great virtues but they do not include a confident belief in America." Yep. This is "not a matter of guesswork," either. Shows up in his private talks with callers, says *Life*; also in the "elusive ambivalence" of his speeches. Elusive ambivalence. . . . We watched a broadcaster friend perform the other night. Before the mike his voice suddenly became deep, profound, authoritative. Like Luce reporters, we thought. We know lots of them; nice chaps, diffident, modest, mild in private. But in print they go omniscient. The motto for *Life-Time* journalism is, "Often wrong but never in doubt." We never met Henry Luce. We feel that he is a man with great sincerity and conviction, a touch of what Asquith once called a "conscious knowledge of effortless superiority," a conviction that his periodicals are saying what God would say if God had all the facts.

There's a bare chance that the House will restore the co-op feature of the middle-income-housing-aid bills. By a five-vote majority a GOP-Dixiecrat coalition defeated it in the Senate last week. The original bill could make America a nation of homeowners (one of the most socially stabilizing developments possible). But it would graft the great European coöperative-housing movement on to the American economy. Realizing the stakes involved, real-estate interests fought the plan violently. They favor the "trickle-down" theory. But coöperative housing is inevitable.

The FBI is genuinely alarmed over the proposal, explained here last week, to make it not merely a fact-gatherer but judge and jury in deciding whether students should receive scholarships under the new Science Foundation setup. Director Hoover has written a letter attacking the Smith amendment requiring this explosive program. The FBI now gathers facts on loyalty; somebody else appraises them, as distinct from the Gestapo, which gathered and sat in judgment, too. Representative Howard Smith (D, Va.) and his followers want the FBI to be a Gestapo. Wiser heads will prevail; otherwise a Truman veto.

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The Supreme Court ruled that natural gas is subject to Federal Power Commission regulation. Millionaire Senator Kerr (D, Okla.), after ousting FPC Commissioner Olds last year, offers legislation to exempt independent gas producers from such regulation. This will cost housewives and other fuel-users billions. The incomprehensible thing in this clear-cut conservative-liberal fight is the Truman position. He has heretofore been steadfastly liberal on such subjects. Signing this bill would repudiate his former position. It seems incredible that he could play with the idea.

Notes. NAM support for federal insurance of all workers before the Senate Finance Committee last week is one of the funniest shifts in years; it all came, of course, in coal and steel union success in winning pension contracts; now industry wants to dump costs on government. . . . At the end of the first week of the McCarthy charges nobody knew for certain whom he accused, how many he accused, or what, precisely, he accused them of. Press-table guffaws and derision at some McCarthy points almost halted proceedings; they were ignored by the committee. . . . The State Department's reluctant decision to give the Tydings committee access to personnel files of 81 cases is serious business; the whole security system postulates voluntary information presumed confidential; it won't work if there's the slightest suspicion that confidence will be betrayed.

New Deal Professor Busch of Cleveland looks good as Taft's Senatorial opponent in comparison to Democratic Party hack Joe Ferguson. . . . The majority of the O'Mahoney Congressional Committee on the Economic Report feel that there's no real competition in the steel industry; recent record-breaking profits in steel and auto companies suggest where taxes could be levied to help balance the budget. . . . The chasm between US election returns and Congressional performance is revealed again in the House failure to pass an education-aid bill and Senate rejection of co-op housing. . . . The 21 Hoover Commission reorganization plans will become effective in 60 days unless vetoed before then by action in House or Senate.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Elmer Davis

SIR: Elmer Davis can think of only one thing worse than atomic war, ". . . and that is the loss of freedom" (the *NR*, February 27, 1950). I can think of something worse—atomic war *and* "the total loss of freedom, of the body and of the mind," which will surely follow. Most people who use the upper portion of their brains (meaning *New Republic* readers) have already thought of this.

South Euclid, Ohio C. D. PRESTON

SIR: . . . Common interests are lacking for a successful federation of the nation-states, says Mr. Davis, ignoring the common need for survival. Let us risk our freedom in the tried and true path, says Mr. Davis, and hope that for once history will be wrong and the arms race will end in universal peace. . . .

This is hardly a mature appraisal or a thoughtful plan of approach to so vital a problem. It is a juvenile device of who can bear to bluff longest without coming to blows.

I believe that it is possible that a legal framework based on justice (surely we are not afraid of justice on the international level?) may produce results which the presence of government has produced on every other level on which it has been tried. This means enforceable world law—a federation of the nations under a government with *limited* powers, but *adequate* to prevent war. I would advocate working aggressively toward this end through the United Nations, by Charter revision. Let us not prophesy the impossibility of selling the idea to the Russians, since we have not yet sold it to ourselves. . . .

Rochester, Minn. TIMOTHY TAKARO, M.D.

SIR: Your articles and editorials on United States foreign policy and atom bombs have for the most part been quite encouraging.

One noteworthy exception is Elmer Davis' treatise on World Government.

Mr. Davis' sixty years probably entitle him to the comfortable outlook of the nineteenth century, and his point of view is undoubtedly representative of the thinking of a large number of our responsible citizenry. . . .

His excellent reasoning is based upon the two false assumptions which your editorials have capably repudiated:

1. That Communism in the US is more to be feared than atomic warfare.

2. That the United States can advance the cause of democratic government by atomic warfare, albeit as a last resort.

I believe the first assumption to be wrong in assuming that our present policy is based upon opposition to Communism rather than opposition to Russian imperialism. It is becoming increasingly clear that Communism at home is of little importance, at least for the present, and that force alone is not the solution to Communism in Europe and Asia. Finally, and more important, is the fact that whatever part of our population might survive atomic bombardment would never be able to enjoy or advance the cause of democracy. . . .

We are faced, whether we like it or no, by the choice between bargaining with an opponent whose irresponsibility makes such bargaining extremely delicate, if not extremely dangerous, or of abandoning ourselves to a war which we cannot win.

Mr. Davis doesn't believe that we have to make this choice.

I have heretofore had the impression that you felt that we *do*, and should be encouraged by your future affirmation.

Santa Monica, Calif. DAVID W. HERON

Where Are the Jobs?

SIR: I enclose a copy of a letter which I have just mailed to President Truman.

[ENCLOSURE]

My dear Mr. President:

I am prompted to write this letter by a column on today's Boston *Globe* financial page in which T. G. M. comments that even with the nation's higher production, we have nearly 5,000,000 unemployed. I do not know how this figure is arrived at but my guess is that it is even higher since there must be many—like myself—who have exhausted their unemployment-compensation benefits only to find no immediate employment in sight; consequently, we must begin to consume whatever reserve we have until we are finally forced to accept public relief. That finality is not only morale-destroying but impossible to accept without some feeling of rebellion toward private enterprise, whose first consideration is the maintenance of profit rather than full employment.

During the last war, I found my services in demand with the New Haven Railroad, where I worked for nearly six years until cutbacks caught my seniority. I have been out for over a year and must wait until retirements or deaths give me back a job. Prospective new employers are once more discouraging the "older" worker (I'm 43) from even filing applications; or else they are offering salaries so low that it appears that this is but another way of avoiding any talk of employment. . . .

The *Globe* financial editor, quoted above, comments that "unemployment may well be seen edging higher during the months to come, a prospect of the utmost seriousness to business," and he further states, "No economy can be considered sound which does not offer the chance to work to its citizens. And no government on earth today will keep its hands off private industry when private industry does not provide full, or practically full, employment."

As one of America's unemployed, a few steps away from public relief or skid row . . . I ask you, as the leader of our country: *Where in hell do I go from here?*

Very respectfully,

Boston, Mass. WM. F. POTTER

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 13, ISSUE 1843, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 27, 1950 **New Republic**

THE CHURCHES KILL AID FOR THE SCHOOLS

RELIGIOUS WARFARE has destroyed hopes for the immediate improvement of American education. The struggle between organized Catholics and organized Protestants over the proper dividing line between Church and State has defeated much needed federal aid for general education in the 81st Congress. And the religious issues that have been reawakened in this bitter controversy have already overflowed into other legislative fields and now threaten to have an important bearing on the coming Congressional elections.

Congress has been fighting over general aid to primary and secondary education for nearly 80 years without ever passing a bill for that purpose. The first such proposal, to assign the proceeds from the sale of public lands "for the education of the people," passed the House of Representatives in 1872, but was rejected in the Senate. That pattern of adoption in one House, rejection in the other, has continued through Congress after Congress.

For 30 years the most relentless and determined enemy of general federal aid has been the Catholic Church. Contending that parochial schools are entitled to subsidies from federal taxes equally with public schools, the Church has fought against any bill in which its schools were not included. Through the years, those who have tried to raise the miserable standards in our most backward public schools have been accused by Catholics of "banishing God from every schoolroom."

Two recent decisions by the Supreme Court, and the surprise election of President Truman, stirred the Church to a new drive on Congress last year. The violence of that campaign provoked, in turn, an opposition of unprecedented militancy and unity among non-Catholic organizations.

In 1947, and again in 1948, the Supreme Court handed down opinions involving the meaning of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which legalists generally interpreted as strengthening the wall of separation between Church and State. "Separation means separation, not something else," Justice Frankfurter ruled for the majority in *McCollum v. Board of Education.* "Jefferson's metaphor in describing the relation between Church and State speaks of a 'wall of separation,' not of a fine line easily overstepped." A majority of the Justices seemed in general agreement with Rutledge's dissenting opinion in *Everson v. Board of Education* that "complete separation between the State and religion is best for the State and best for religion."

Plainly, the court which decided the *Everson* and *McCollum* cases would rule general extension of federal-aid funds to parochial schools unconstitutional even if Congress could be forced to approve it. Equally plainly, the chances for passage of federal aid in some form had been greatly enhanced by the reëlection of President Truman.

A change in the Catholic line was called for: the first general-aid bill to be passed would set the pattern for future grants. The parochial schools must be specifically included to establish a precedent for the future. It was decided to concentrate on convincing Congress and the public that it was unfair to deprive parochial-school pupils of the "auxiliary services" the state supplies to children in public schools. School-bus transportation, health services, and free textbooks benefit the individual child and not the church, Catholic publications and speakers began to emphasize.

When the new Congress met, Senate leaders offered separate legislation providing health services for parochial schools in consideration for Catholic support of a general aid bill they had worked out, leaving to the individual states the right to determine whether parochial schools would receive benefits. The Catholics went along. Both bills were approved. But when a move developed in the House to exclude parochial schools from the new program, the chief Catholic spokesman in America sounded the call to battle. Cardinal Spellman's outrageous attack on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt last summer because of her expression of approval for limiting federal aid to public schools incited Protestants to extremes of anti-Catholicism unknown in America in recent years. Both Catholics and Protestants backed away from the compromise plan. The millions of American children growing up with inadequate or no education to fit them for citizenship were lost sight of in the fighting which occupied America's religious leaders in the months that followed.

The need for federal assistance to equalize educational opportunity throughout the United States has been generally recognized ever since the draft statistics from the First World War dramatized illiteracy in America. Few facts about the population have become better known

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than those pertaining to our shortcomings in education. All sides agree that it is a disgrace and a danger to the continuance of democracy that 10 million adults still were classed as "functionally illiterate" at the time of the last census; that almost two million children between the ages of six and 15 are not in any kind of school at all; that, by a National Education Association estimate, about 20 million of our voting population (equal to the combined population of 29 of our states) have less than a sixth-grade education. There is general alarm that more than three-fourths of state school boards had less purchasing power per pupil in 1947 than in 1940. And the shamefully low salaries paid teachers in the United States have dropped even farther below the average earnings of all employed persons.

It is generally accepted, too, that the problem of providing adequate education is too big for the states to handle alone. The largest percentage of children to total population is in our poorer states. The latest surveys available show that these states are spending proportionately more of their income for schools than the average for the nation. Their wealth is so limited, however, that the educational opportunities they can provide are vastly inferior to those in the rest of the country. Ninety-two percent of classrooms in New York State have $2,000 or more a year for their support. Only one-half of one percent of Mississippi's children are in schoolrooms with budgets that high; more than a third of its classrooms are supported on less than $200 a year.

These hard truths are so generally deplored that no politician today could safely oppose a program to remedy the situation if a clear-cut vote were taken on this issue alone. The opponents of a general federal-aid program know this. Their strategy has been to kill the program behind committee doors. The passions roused by religious debate made their job easy. Men who had favored federal aid for many years now voted against it in the House Education Committee because in its "compromise" form the bill would benefit parochial schools in certain states. The four Catholics among the Democratic members of the committee have usually voted solidly Fair Deal; three of the four, voting on the compromise bill, sided with their Church against their party. Only Representative Andrew Jacobs (D, Ind.) rebelled against this religious discipline.

The final committee vote to pigeonhole federal aid without allowing a full vote of the House was carried, 13-12, by a combination of seven conservative Republicans and six Democrats: one who opposes aid in principle, Representative Wingate Lucas of Texas; two ardent Protestants who preferred no aid at all to aid in which some Catholic schools would share (Graham A. Barden of North Carolina and Tom Steed of Oklahoma), and three Catholics who followed directions from the National Catholic Welfare Conference lobby to vote against any measure not specifically including Church schools (John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, John Lesinski of Michigan and Thomas H. Burke of Ohio). Only one Republican, Representative Thurston B. Morton, of Kentucky, joined the eleven Democrats who favored giving the House a chance to express itself on this important matter. Some among these twelve reluctantly supported the compromise solution, feeling that *any* aid to private and sectarian schools is an improper use of federal funds. As they saw it, however, the emergency which exists in our schools is so urgent that a deadlock of religious principle could no longer be tolerated.

Underlying the struggle in this Congress over federal support for education has been a clash of basic philosophies and of political power. Catholics are the first to point out that they wield great influence in the House of Representatives. Majority Leader John McCormack (Mass.) and House Education Committee Chairman Lesinski, both loyal churchmen, were so strategically placed as to have virtual veto power over bringing the measure to the floor. All members representing big-city constituencies—not only actual Catholics—were susceptible to Church pressure. "In the large cities of America," one Catholic syllabus on organizing against federal aid points out, "Catholics constitute from 31 to more than 70 percent of the population. . . . In the largest cities, there are only 7 million affiliated Protestants, but there are 20 million Catholics."

"The growth and cohesion, discipline and loyalty" of the Catholic Church "spring from its schools," Justice Jackson has declared. The leaders of those schools today complain of the "unfriendly" attitude of Protestants toward them and insist that "we deserve much better of our nation." "Are we to be grudgingly tolerated, or are we to be recognized as rightfully belonging in the field of American education?" the official Church press asks.

Advocates of an even firmer wall between Church and State, like the writer of a current *Law Journal* article on this question, answer flatly that: "There is no common ground between the philosophy of Catholic education and the views on Church and State of Jefferson, Madison and the Supreme Court. They are worlds apart. . . . Perhaps Americans are not logical when they refuse public aid to parochial schools, yet recognize them as fulfilling the requirements of compulsory attendance laws. But the departure from a narrow logic has been in the interests of a broad liberty."

Conflicts so broad and so deep as these are a long time in solution. America's needs in education will not wait on agreement on religion. America's hope must be that, as tempers cool, men of good will on both sides will again put the general welfare first in their thinking.

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THE WEEK

A LAW TO DESTROY LIBERTY

As part of their 1950 "freedom v. socialism" campaign, the most rabid Red hunters among the Republicans—Senators Karl Mundt (S. D.) and Homer Ferguson (Mich.) and Representative Richard Nixon (Calif.)—have resumed a drive for a bill that would jeopardize the right of all liberals to organize.

By a 10-to-1 vote, the Senate Judiciary Committee has now approved the Mundt-Ferguson anti-subversive measure, described as unconstitutional by Attorney General Tom Clark last year. Senator William Langer (R, N. D.), the lone dissenter on the committee, charged that the bill, if enacted,

> would constitute the greatest threat to American civil liberties since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798. Like that bill, it is the product of hysteria and frantic, unthinking fear. Like that bill, it would strike at the very foundation of our democratic institutions—the right of the people to speak their minds, to hear every viewpoint on public questions, and to associate together freely to advance their common views. Like that bill, it merits the opposition of all who cherish liberty.

Langer filed his scorching 5,000-word minority report after the committee had approved the bill, which in its preamble states that the Communist movement is a "wordwide revolutionary political movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, espionage, sabotage, terrorism and any other means deemed necessary to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in all countries." Mundt's new law would require registration of the Communist Party and each of its members, and of all "Communist-front organizations" and their officers. It would be unlawful for a person to remain a member of an organization that had failed, after an order by the Justice Department, to register. It would deny government jobs and passports to members of the Communist Party, require all "registered" organizations to label their mail, "Disseminated by———, a Communist organization," and take away tax-exempt status from all such organizations. The bill makes it a crime to "combine, conspire, or agree with any person to perform any act" that would lead to the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship. Another section would establish a Subversive Activities Control Board, composed of three members appointed by the President, to determine whether organizations were Communist political organizations or "fronts."

Langer lashed out against his colleagues, asserting that under the guise of protecting our democratic institutions,

> it is proposed to regiment the thinking of the American people and to impair or prevent the free exercise of constitutionally guaranteed freedom of speech and association.
>
> It is proposed to confer on a politically-appointed board vague and, therefore, unrestricted power to outlaw associations of citizens whose views and policies are considered by it to be "dangerous." Under these vague powers trade unions and other organizations which may seek to alter the status quo . . . could be branded as traitorous agents of foreign governments. In the effort to avoid obliteration, voluntary associations of citizens would be compelled to conduct witch hunts . . . to encourage their members to spy and inform on each other. In the atmosphere created by this bill American traditions of freedom could only stifle and die.

After striking at the constitutionality of the bill, section by section, Langer acutely observed that an officer of an organization required to register had one of these alternatives:

> He can register, and thereby destroy his organization and subject his members to untold penalties. . . . He can not register and face imprisonment for life. He can resign and dissolve his organization. The alternative he will choose is perfectly obvious. It is therefore apparent that any claim that this is a disclosure bill is entirely erroneous. No one will register. It is probable that only the Communist Party would continue to exist underground, as it has done everywhere under every form of suppression.

Soon after the committee's action was made public, Senator Kilgore, who had voted with the majority, reversed his stand. After studying the matter, Kilgore said, he concluded that "it is fundamentally a sedition bill and, in the hands of a prejudiced prosecutor or national administration, can be used against organized labor and in fact against other organizations, whether churches, farm or business groups where a hostile prosecutor might want to use it." Two other committee members, Senators Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) and Warren Magnuson (D, Wash.), criticized parts of the bill and stated that they would oppose the measure if it were not amended to their satisfaction.

Senate Democratic Leader Scott Lucas (Ill.) has indicated that the bill will receive a low priority on the legislative calendar, and will probably not be brought up for consideration before Congress adjourns this election year. Meanwhile, Nixon has introduced an identical bill in the House, which has been referred to its birthplace—the House Un-American Activities Committee, where Nixon and Mundt (before he became Senator) first plotted a liberal purge.

THE HOUSING-BILL OUTLOOK

In defeating the coöperative-housing program for middle-income families, the Senate has dealt the Truman Administration a double blow. The White House had been counting on this $1 billion authorization to help speed up our lagging economy. The housing bill was to have been the major Democratic accomplishment of this Congress to which the President could point with pride in the coming campaign. Now, unless the House reverses Senate action, the building industry will take a decided drop, by its own estimates, from one million homes constructed last year to about 800,000 this year, and most of them will be beyond the means of middle-income families. The $1 billion loan program for co-ops would not only have raised living standards for thousands of persons still ill-housed but would also have stimulated employment and industry.

Senator John Sparkman's (D, Ala.) middle-income housing bill was de-

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signed to help the third of our population with annual incomes of from $2,800 to $4,400 a year, in larger cities, and those with even lower incomes who live in smaller towns. This group has been unable to benefit from the Federal Housing Administration's present program since most of the houses built through it cost from $8,000 to $10,000, beyond the reach of ordinary families. Coöperative housing has long been the recommended answer to this dilemma. But the co-ops have not been able to take advantage of the FHA. In order to obtain loans they have to go to private lending institutions which, as Senator Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) pointed out, prefer to do business with private real-estate men and private builders. . . . "They do not necessarily regard the coöperatives as un-American, but they tend to regard them as strange, as new, as somewhat hostile, and they do not want to make loans to them." The Sparkman bill would have set up a $1 billion corporation to lend money to the coöperatives directly.

The co-op provision was defeated by only five votes when the Senate, 43 to 38, passed the Bricker amendment to knock it out of the bill. Thirteen Democrats, mostly Southerners, joined 30 Republicans in favor of the amendment. Administration Democrats voted solidly against it. Nine Democratic Senators were absent. Any five of them, together with two strong Republican advocates of public housing who did not vote on the Bricker amendment, could have saved co-op housing if they had been present. Republicans cried "Socialism," "Inflationary," and Senator Harry Cain (R, Wash.) called the program "wholly illegitimate." After the Bricker amendment passed, Senators Tobey (R, N. H.) and Ives (R, N. Y.) tried to get a milder substitute through, but it was rejected 66 to 14.

Senator Douglas charged that small lenders and real-estate forces had bombarded Congress with propaganda to kill the proposal. The number of lobbyists lurking in the Capitol corridors illustrated his point. Frank Cortright of the Home Builders; Abner Ferguson, former Commissioner of the FHA and now lobbyist for the US Savings and Loan League; George Woodson Proffitt, Executive Secretary of the National Apartment Owners Association; and representatives of the National Association of Real Estate Boards lingered just outside the cloakrooms during the debate.

Although the neediest have been overlooked again, the bill finally passed by the Senate would: authorize $2 billion for the FHA's mortgage-insurance programs; provide $150 million in direct long-term home loans to veterans unable to get private financing (an amendment by Senator Cain to eliminate this was defeated by voice vote); provide for a $300 million program of long-term, low-cost loans to educational institutions for students and faculty housing projects; provide for disposal of all war housing, including transfer of 43,000 units for use as low-rent public-housing projects.

The House Banking and Currency Committee last month reported out its own "middle-income" housing bill, which contains a co-op program twice as big as that defeated in the Senate. That bill has cleared the Rules Committee and is ready for floor action. Housing proponents believe that if the House can reinstate the co-op provision before sending the bill to conference committee, the Administration leaders in the Senate will be able to muster enough votes to pass it later this session.

THE WASHINGTON POST

"Do we still see him?"

ACHESON'S SPEECHES

Secretary Acheson's two speeches in California, considered together, were obviously intended to constitute a major statement in regard to foreign policy. Care was taken to let us know that they had been seen and approved in advance by the President. The Secretary of State made an able review of many aspects of the Cold War, and some of his attacks on Soviet Russia were telling ones. It is difficult to see, however, how our relations to the USSR, or to any other nation, were advanced in the slightest. Even Secretary Acheson seemed to feel this and spoke pessimistically of the small chance that the Soviet government will mend its ways because of scolding by the United States.

The only change, if it is a change, is that Acheson spoke somewhat more firmly about military aid to Southeast Asia. In his famous Press Club speech he emphasized our obligations in Japan and Korea, and seemed to suggest mainly Point Four aid to Indo-China and adjacent territories. Now he says that we are prepared to give "military aid, grants, loans or technical assistance" to resist the onslaughts of Communism, which he identifies with Soviet imperialism. He does not mention the overwhelming political problem in this part of the world, which is how to get the British and, in particular, the French, to accept the idea of democratic self-rule for the colonial peoples.

It is certainly high time for a real development of American statesmanship, if we are not to see the Cold War develop into a shooting war. There are hints in Washington that such a statement may be coming fairly soon from President Truman, and that the Acheson speeches were only preliminary to it. In any case, it is hard to see why these speeches were delivered. If they didn't make a bad matter worse, they certainly made it no better.

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MENACE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The President's chief economic adviser, Leon Keyserling, warned in a little-noticed speech last week that 1950 is likely to be another year of "prosperity" but also of even greater "unemployment." Business had almost as good a year in 1949 as in 1948, Keyserling points out, but it did not "expand" enough to "absorb the natural growth in the labor force"—about two million per year.

Production and sales in 1949 were only about one percent below the record year of 1948 but average unemployment was about twice as high. There were 4.7 million jobless in February. From this, Keyserling estimates that there may be 12 million unemployed by 1954, if sales and production are no higher than in 1948.

Meanwhile, the number of "distress" areas—communities where at least 12 percent of the workers were out of jobs—increased from 39 to 43 last month. During January, the latest report from the Bureau of Employment Security shows, conditions in two-thirds of these trouble spots grew worse instead of better. In the same month state agencies paid out an all-time high of $186,383,000 in unemployment compensation. Thousands more workers had already exhausted their unemployment-insurance benefits.

First legislative notice of a possible emergency in unemployment growing out of these facts has come from Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.). The "Employment Assistance Act of 1950" she has introduced in the House provides for direct and prompt channelling of government contracts or loans to regions or industries that have been certified as serious unemployment areas. A $2 billion emergency reserve fund for urban and rural unemployment would be established to augment existing federal-works programs, to establish a rural-conservation program, and to provide grants to states and cities on a matching basis for construction as well as non-construction projects.

Mrs. Douglas' bill also sets forth a long-range program for resources development and public works. A fund of $100 million would be created to acquire sites and develop blueprints. RFC loans up to $1 billion for direct credit to cities and states for financing projects could be made at low rates of interest for periods up to 60 years.

As further immediate protection, Representative Douglas, along with Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.), has introduced an additional bill to establish a permanent Civilian Conservation Corps, "charged with conservation of our *natural resources*, which were of necessity so badly neglected during the war years, and the development of *human resources* . . . to relieve the growing unemployment of young men in this country." Last month, more than one million men between 16 and 24 years old were out of work and looking for jobs. The new program would provide employment and instruction for 500,000 volunteers between the ages of 17 and 23, at $60 a month plus board, shelter, transportation and medical care, for one to two years.

SCIENCE AND SECURITY

The National Science Foundation, created to give American scientific research meaning and direction, may end as a victim of the Cold War, economy, and conservative fears of centralization. House amendments to the bill—especially provisions which would require FBI approval for non-secret work—have stirred deep resentment among scientific organizations. The Federation of American Scientists has declared that unless the House amendment is deleted, it would prefer to see the measure killed.

In 1945, the President called for a "single federal research agency" which would promote and support fundamental research in all sectors of science and would "coördinate and control" the federal research program. In 1947, the Steelman report recommended creation of a foundation "authorized to spend $50 million in support of basic research its first year, with increasing amounts rising to an annual rate of at least $250 million in 1957." The House this month ruined the bill by amendments. The scientists were left with a measure which: provides a ceiling budget of $15 million a year, reducing it to just another scholarship agency; opens the door to military research in a field which it was thought could be restricted to non-secret work; and demands FBI certification of loyalty for everyone from office boy up.

Scientists are angriest about the provision that the FBI not only must make the investigations, but certify to the loyalty of scholarship applicants and Foundation employees. The National Academy of Sciences, in a letter to President Truman on March 9, declared: "We are convinced that this provision, if made into law, would so distort the purpose of the original bill as to work serious damage to the development of science in the United States and to those persons upon whom that development depends." While accepting the necessity for investigation of those working in security fields and that scholarship holders be loyal to the United States, the Academy insisted that FBI investigations into non-secret work, particularly among young students, would be detrimental to the objectives of the bill.

Appeals have been sent to scientists to call upon the Senate-House Conference Committee, which must still act on the bill, to eliminate the FBI loyalty amendment.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

France, in the fifth spring since the Second World War, is no longer quite the country of the ancient formula that the more things change, the more they are the same. Some things have really changed. France is still the country in which men of forty are considered boys, where most positions of power are held by old men. But it's not now a country where old intellectuals create new ideas while young women give birth to few babies; where old statesmen produce tracts on moral civilization while young men work hard enough only to gather a modest stake for later years of living without work.

Some of the contrasts between sameness and real change are striking. They should also be illuminating to the makers of American policy toward

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Western Europe, who profess to want, above all, to remove "areas of weakness."

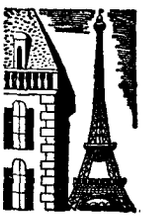
Before the second war France seemed well on the way toward becoming a nation of old people. Since the war the young women of France have been bearing more children than their grandmothers did. The physical vitality of the country, as measured by the birth rate (now proportionately higher than Italy's), is greater than it has been in generations. Births during 1949 were above the 800,000 mark for the fourth straight year, and the rate is even higher for the first quarter of 1950. In each of the last four years, 300,000 more Frenchmen were born than died. The population has passed 42 million. It seems that 50 million may be reached in the next half-dozen years.

The workingmen of France of all ages are producing more in factories and on farms than did their grandfathers. They are working both harder and more efficiently, even though the cost of living makes it almost impossible to buy bread and pay rent, let alone put aside something for the future. Thanks far more to French labor than to ECA, French industry is doing well; and thanks more to their work than to the "liberal" finance policies of the government, France has already done more than half of what needs to be done by 1952.

These are real changes, which make the women and the workers of France "areas" of strength. But for US policy, France is still the old men with old ideas, the country where, in this spring of 1950, defeatism, reaction and rottenness are worse than they were in the bad old days. Most of the men in power are hangovers from the period before World War II; joining them are many of the men who in the Vichy days preferred the National Socialism of Hitler or the "order" of Pétain to Socialism or the hazards of democracy.

French public life has recently been providing a spectacle of political immorality that recalls the worst aspects of the Oustric and Stavisky scandals—as a matter of fact, of the Dreyfus Affair. The "Affair of the Generals" is the *cause célèbre* which has been the stench in the nostrils of the French people who have been focusing their "total resources" on making a new, free France.

General Revers, chief of the French army staff (despite some dubious conduct during the Vichy period), seems to have had some big ideas about the role of the military in French Indo-China. These included having the civilian Resident General put under army control. Léon Pignon, the civilian in question, didn't agree. But General Mast, one of the leaders of the "good" soldiers during the North African landing period, did agree; he wanted to be Resident General himself. Revers and Mast carried out an elaborate intrigue among high figures in French politics.



One of the persons they used as a go-between was Roger Peyre, a condemned criminal, a former Nazi collaborator, a person whom Premier Georges Bidault publicly called "a double or a triple agent." In the course of the intrigue Peyre was not only whitewashed but given the Legion of Honor. A dozen or more important Frenchmen, some of cabinet rank, allowed themselves—for their various purposes—to get mixed up with spies, blackmailers, crooks. All of this might have remained secret had it not been for the fact that Pignon wanted to keep his job in Saigon and had friends who understood the technique of the "accidental indiscretion."

Naturally, the Communists made capital of the affair, first of the fact that efforts were made to hush it up, then of the shocking admissions Bidault was forced to make in an open debate in the National Assembly. And after an inquiry commission was named, its Communist member was able to leak more dirt that the other members wanted to withhold; the Communist *l'Humanité* got the first boost in its circulation in two years. The Gaullists profited even more because it was their publications which first broke the story, and forced the investigation.

Even the rightist *Figaro* wrote: "No Frenchman concerned with the moral authority of his country can read about the affair without shame. . . . This is another symptom of moral relaxation, of the weakening of essential disciplines since the end of the war." *Le Monde* bemoaned "a sort of unconscious subversion of spirits that threatens to corrupt everything and everybody" and warned that the Fourth Republic would need to return to "its original ideals" if it wasn't to share the fate of the Third. (*Le Monde* is a supporter of Paul Reynaud, spokesman for reactionary French big business, whose conscious probity of spirit did little to save the Third Republic when he was Premier.)

The scandal broke at the worst possible time for the French anti-Communists, both of the Right and of the Left. (An important figure in the anti-Communist Left labor organization, Force Ouvrière, was mentioned in the Assembly debate.) Even the Socialist newspapers had been echoing the rightist cries of treason about CGT strikes to block shipments of arms to Indo-China. Rightist liberals like Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber had been saying that the government's failure to crack down on the strikers suggested weakness comparable to Russia's before 1917, Germany's before 1933, China's in recent years. The "Affair of the Generals" gave new definitions of treason.

And while the scandal was still fresh in the minds of Frenchmen, the American government recognized Bao Dai, the Vietnamese puppet emperor, and began sending arms and money into the Indo-Chinese area which everyone could recognize as a bottomless cesspool of corruption. The French government started cracking down on labor, restricting the right to strike and violating Constitutional guarantees to the workers, at precisely the time when the workers were hearing about obscure and suspicious links between Paris and Washington in connection with the use of MAP material arriving at French ports. The "affair," therefore, permitted the Communists to offer their own version of American definitions of French "areas" of strength.

They were able, above all, to say that, although much in France has really changed, the France with which America deals is the one that hasn't yet learned the elementary honesty and the essential discipline of responsible democracy—the France of a government of old men who love power too much to risk facing the verdict of the French women and workers on the "Affair of the Generals."

PERCY WINNER

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THE CALIFORNIA LOYALTY OATH

by Jean Begeman

ON APRIL 19, 1949, Charles L. Mowat, a University of California history professor, told members of the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors: "These are times which try men's souls—more, perhaps, than times of war. For we are in an era of fear, of cold war, when we have become so afraid of Russia and of Communism that we are in great danger of destroying our liberties in the process of preventing others from doing it for us."

Two months after his speech, his words had even greater meaning. On June 24, 1949, the Board of Regents that governs the state-owned University issued a proclamation that every professor, every member of the administrative staff even down to part-time secretaries, must sign loyalty oaths, each swearing ". . . that I am not a member of the Communist Party or under any oath, or a party to any agreement or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath."

The oath was an aftermath of the work of the Tenney committee, California's "Little Dies Committee" that searched in vain for Communists last year. Jack Tenney introduced several bills, aimed ostensibly at Communists, during the legislative session. The University of California's president, Robert Gordon Sproul, feared that the university would be investigated by the state legislature; he hoped the loyalty oath would ward off such a probe. Instead, the Regents' action rocked "the world's largest university." Professors on the eight campuses banded together, wrapped themselves in the cloak of academic freedom, and flatly refused to sign the oath.

In the months that have ensued, the Regents and the professors have been holding a turbulent, open debate. The Regents have claimed the oath is necessary because they must safeguard the freedom of the University against "ruthless, fanatical, and subversive minorities in the body politic, such as the Communist Party." The professors hold that for years University employees have signed an oath of allegiance to the state and federal Constitutions and that an additional "loyalty" oath would impair their academic freedom. They have waged their fight along the reasoning of Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, noted chancellor of the University of Chicago, who has vigorously denounced the restrictions being placed on the teaching profession:

"To discriminate against teachers—to act as though they were all disloyal—and to put them under special legal disabilities seems injudicious if we want able, independent men to go into the teaching profession."

More than half the University's 11,000 employees signed the oath. Those who refused were the hundreds of top-bracket professors, including practically all of the deans and department heads. The dissenters appointed a faculty committee of four to represent the Academic Senate, the faculty representative body on the two main campuses at Berkeley and Los Angeles, in negotiations with the Regents.

The issue came to a climax on February 24, when the Regents ordered that the oath be subscribed to by April 30, under penalty of discharge. The Regents soon discovered that their "sign or resign" ultimatum served only to strengthen the opposition. Early in March, 900 faculty members unanimously voted to refuse to accept the loyalty oath because (1) it "is at once discrimination against the faculty in relation to other public servants, and a completely ineffectual method of preventing the penetration of the Communist Party into the faculty; and (2) it is unjust and a violation of established principles of academic privilege and tenure to dismiss, and without a hearing, loyal members of the faculty simply and solely because they refuse to sign the oath."

On the same day, more than 8,000 University of California students jammed the Greek Theatre on the Berkeley campus and roared their support of professors refusing to sign the oath. At both meetings, the faculty speakers emphasized that the dissenters did *not* believe Communists should be allowed to teach, but that the faculty objected to the manner in which the Regents issued the ultimatum directing that the oath be taken—an ultimatum that could only be regarded as a violation of the basic principle of academic freedom. "If California yields to transitory fear and distress," Dr. Peter Odegard told the students, "how can we expect weaker institutions to resist? The University has become a light on a high place for all the world to see. Our responsibility is to see that this light does not fail in the enveloping darkness." The students were advised, in substance: Kindly keep your shirts on, but roll up your sleeves.

The protest meetings served to convince the Regents that their high-handed methods were not the most successful way to deal with strong-minded professors. Regent John Francis Neylan, San Francisco attorney, offered a compromise. He urged that the faculty adopt a resolution endorsing the standard university regulation, No. 5, prohibiting the employment of anyone with commitments to the Communist Party or any other organization prejudicial to impartial scholarship. The Academic Senate has offered, as a substitute for the Regents' oath, two resolutions to be voted on by a secret ballot of the faculty: one reaffirms regulation No. 5;

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the other declares, "No person whose commitments or obligations to any organization, Communist or otherwise, prejudice impartial scholarship and free pursuit of truth will be employed by the University. Proved members of the Communist Party, by reasons of such commitment to that party, are not acceptable as members of the faculty." The outcome of this vote will be presented to the Regents as evidence of faculty loyalty, with the hope that the governing board will rescind the anti-Communist-oath requirement.

Dean Joel H. Hildebrand of the College of Chemistry, one of the four members of the faculty committee, summed up the views of his colleagues: "I am absolutely sure that no conceivable damage to the University at hands of hypothetical Communists among us could possibly have equaled the damage resulting from the unrest and ill will and suspicion engendered by the series of events occurring during the past eight months."

The California case will be high on the agenda of the American Association of University Professors' forthcoming annual meeting at Cleveland. The 900 professors who have waged the fight believe they have acted in accord with past privileges of the AAUP's Academic Freedom and Tenure Committee: "To yield in the face of popular intimidation is to lose a measure of self-confidence and to invite further inroads. . . . If freedom is to be preserved, our colleges and universities must guard zealously their positions as its chief citadels."

WHAT UNION LABOR WANTS

by Philip Murray

MORE THAN 200 reporters were in attendance at the convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in November, 1949, and they telegraphed nearly a million words to their respective newspapers and magazines. Their presence, and the tremendous bulk of their journalistic endeavor, is proof—if proof is needed—of the widespread public interest in the policies and actions of organized labor, the CIO in particular.

In the press and on the radio the public is treated to a daily fare of speculation concerning both the short-term and long-range aims of our American trade unions. The attitude is expressed in the often voiced question: "What does labor really want?" The question carries with it a certain connotation of concern and alarm—as if to indicate that our unions and their leadership are hiding deep within their hearts a secret to which the public has no right of access. It is a question I have heard not only from liberals who are warmly sympathetic to labor, but from conservatives who watch the progress of unionism with undisguised dismay.

Nevertheless, that interest in labor's goals and aspirations is natural, healthy and historic.

Foster Rhea Dulles, in his excellent *Labor in America —A History*, gives us a constant reminder that labor's role in our society has been a matter of concern since the colonial period. While it may be no solace for workers encumbered with the restrictions of the Taft-Hartley Act, there is room for gratitude for our progress since 1630, when the Massachusetts General Court set a wage ceiling of two shillings a day and proclaimed as law a measure providing that "all workmen shall worke the whole day, alloweing convenient tyme for food and rest." There is a marked similarity between the look-with-horror advertisements which McGraw-Hill and other corporations have directed at organized labor, and Alexander Hamilton's complaint that incentives to engage in manufacturing are impracticable in the face of "scarcity of hands, dearness of labor, want of capital."

Clearly, the issues that today embroil us in disputes between labor and industry, or that engage the members of Congress in extended debate, have deep roots in the history of our country. The issues are neither novel nor superficial. They involve each and every one of us, since our society is more closely interdependent than at any time since the first colonists established their little communities and went to work to create a new life in a new land.

The questions that were being put to the infant labor organizations of a century ago are still being asked of our unions today. And the answers, too, remain much the same. What labor "really wants" is to give its members, and the general public, a consistently rising standard of living in a democratic society which will protect the rights of each citizen while making possible his maximum contribution to the general good.

The history of labor in America—and particularly the history of labor since the birth of the CIO in 1935 —offers ready proof that our unions have made a major contribution to the national well-being. I see no indication that labor's role, or labor's contribution to the general welfare, will diminish in the decades ahead.

The 1949 convention of the CIO was a step toward ensuring the continuance of labor's effective dedication

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This is the fourth in a series of articles reporting on some aspects of Western civilization at the twentieth century's halfway mark. The next in the series, by Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn, will deal with manners and morals.

Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, was born in Blantyre, Scotland, in 1886; he came to the United States at the age of 16, and was naturalized in 1907. He had begun his working life as a coal miner when he was 10, and after arriving in this country he continued to work underground for many years. In 1912 he became a member of the International Board of the United Mine Workers, and was made an International Vice-President in 1920. He has been president of the CIO since November, 1940.

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to the development of our democratic society. The CIO, at that meeting in Cleveland, took drastic and necessary steps to eliminate Communist influence in the American labor movement. Some cartoonists, in the shorthand vocabulary of their craft, have sought to picture the CIO, prior to our 1949 convention, as a bewildered gentleman at the crossroads, uncertain whether to take the rocky road to Communism or the more appealing path of democracy. Yet the CIO was never confronted with such a limited choice; never for a moment has the CIO been in doubt whether to maintain its independent status as a free trade union or to place itself under the dominance of the Communist Party and its Kremlin policy makers. Rather, the CIO was faced with a condition that became more grave with the passing of each postwar year. We faced the practical alternative of either taking no policy position on major issues, in order to placate the handful of Communist-dominated union officials, or to adopt policies in which we sincerely believed, only to have our course of action sabotaged by this same obstructionist group.

In my report to the CIO convention at Cleveland, I commented that:

> The Communist program for American labor is a program of destruction. Couched in terms of pseudo-militancy, it invites defeat for labor, rupture of our organizations, failure of attainment of even our most modest goals. . . . The program of the "left wing" would enslave us to the aims and aspirations of a party whose interests are not those of American labor but are directed toward the establishment of a retrogressive dictatorship in our life. . . . We are committed to broadening of our democratic structure, not to its destruction. We are committed to orderly and constructive progress by labor in America; we are not and never will be committed to a policy that makes our movement the slave of a dictatorial state apparatus.

That statement of position is in accord with the sentiments of millions of workers in this country who have read with increasing concern of the sacrifice of liberty and human dignity in the dictatorship nations or who, in the framework of their own experience, have seen efforts to paralyze the effectiveness of their own union organizations by cliques of fanatical totalitarians.

By eliminating the practical influence of the totalitarians, the CIO is freeing itself of a cumbersome deadweight. Freed of internal obstructionism based on adherence to a faulty ideology, the CIO has opened the way for accelerated organizational campaigns, for even stronger campaigns in behalf of civil rights, and for a political-action program of expanding dimensions. Let no one doubt that in casting off the influence of Communist puppets in a few unions, the CIO is destined to become more active and more successful in attaining its objectives.

Nevertheless, there have been expressions of concern by some liberal newspapers and magazines lest the decisive series of actions which the CIO took to rid itself of Communist obstructionism result in a diminution of labor's militancy, its efforts to improve civil liberties, its basic devotion to the democratic process. These are groundless fears. They spring, I think, from the erroneous belief that the Communists have a monopoly on the capacity to stir the heart or brain, or to activate the legs of the picket or the finger of the doorbell ringer. The Communists have energy, but they have no monopoly on energy. That was proved during the 1948 elections. The so-called left wing was completely energized over the candidacy of Henry Wallace—but millions of union members in both the CIO and AFL paid little attention to the misguided fanaticism of the Wallaceites.

In 1946, to cite another example, Communist groups in some of the Northern cities energetically passed resolutions and staged parades against discrimination in Dixie at the time the CIO was launching its Southern organizing drive—but it was a group of loyal, democratically minded CIO workers who were—and still are—carrying on the long, hard, often dangerous job of bringing unionism and attendant civil liberties to backward industrial areas of the Southern states.

A second overdrawn conclusion has been made since our convention: that in removing Communist influences, the CIO is acting to silence all internal differences of opinion. That is a most unlikely possibility. An organization whose leadership embraces such diverse personalities as Joe Curran, Jim Carey, Walter Reuther, Jack Potofsky—to name a very few of my associates—faces no foreseeable danger of hardening of its cerebral arteries. No organization the size of the CIO could try for long to smother the thinking of its constituents without complete paralysis and disintegration.

What the responsible CIO leaders have objected to during these past few years is not the statement of diverse or unpopular ideas, but the all-or-nothing series of demands through which a small minority of party-liners sought to hamstring a great organization and render it impotent and ineffectual in relation to some of the great issues of our day—the European Recovery Program, the 1948 election, the achievement of a Fair Deal legislative program.

The CIO has put its own house in order through the actions of its 1949 convention. It is ready now, in a more effective way than at any other time in the recent past, to devote itself to the important problems that we, as Americans and as workers, must face.

What, then, is labor's program in terms of economic advancement, legislative activity and political action? Obviously, millions of workers and their families are interested in improving their standard of living, of

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achieving security—not only from unemployment, but from the crises of illness and accident and from the financial burdens that so tragically haunt the lives of millions of our older citizens. They are insisting upon a strengthened structure of civil rights and democratic liberties. They seek the abundant life which America can produce for all of us, and they are determined to use their unions and their government to achieve it. They want an intelligent, constructive militance from their unions; they want a government devoted wholeheartedly to a Fair Deal program that will act in the general public welfare; and they are interested in the creation of political-action mechanisms which will ensure the election of legislative bodies capable of overcoming the stand-pat complexes of entrenched minorities.

There is, in truth, nothing new about such a program. The same plan was in the minds of the people in the early years of our Republic, when they insisted upon the inclusion of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution. It is a program of liberalism and instinctive desire for economic progress which has been handed down from one American generation to the next. Our problem, in a world of breath-taking scientific progress and life-taking dictatorship, is to shape that program into practical form for application to the needs of our citizens today.

Freedom and liberty are not abstractions to the man whose right to picket has been abridged by a Taft-Hartley injunction or whose right of assembly and speech has been repealed by the owner of a factory-controlled Southern village.

To workers and their unions, whose legitimate struggles have constantly met with repression and hostility from employers and sections of the governmental structure, civil liberties are an immediate and pragmatic problem. Having seen the practical effects of the deprivation of those basic rights, they have little use for the highly theoretical "viewing with alarm" that emanates from corporation front offices and from corporation front organizations. American workers will pay scant attention to the views of economic reactionaries who hold that our labor organizations or our government cannot embark on economic or welfare programs because such a course of action does not jibe with the writings of eighteenth-century British theorists. A union member requires no unusual economic insight to realize that $20 billion in corporation profits constitutes a shameless maladjustment in our economy. They know that mass unemployment is a needless waste of human resources and economic strength. The benefits of a TVA or the merits of eliminating sweatshop conditions can be appreciated without a Ph.D. in economics.

There exists in our country a vast backlog of unfinished legislative business. It is spelled out both in President Truman's Fair Deal program and in the legislative program of organized labor. Indeed, our own CIO program lists 26 major points on which action is necessary and desirable as soon as possible. Since 1938 Congress has taken a leave of absence from social-welfare legislation. Perhaps, although it is by no means certain, the lapse was excusable during the war years. The fact remains that action is now long overdue.

We must get ahead with the legislative job. The atrocious Taft-Hartley Act must be repealed. The minimum-wage law, though improved in 1949, still needs considerable broadening of its coverage. There can be no further delay in modernizing our obsolete social-security law; in getting to work on great public-power projects in the river valleys; in providing real protection against unemployment; in removing from our tax laws the loopholes which big business is using for a horde of nefarious fiscal practices; for putting sharper teeth into our anti-monopoly statutes.

Congress must soon come to grips with the expensive and not particularly effective method by which the average American receives medical care. It must have the courage and the imagination to realize that our civil rights need strengthening.

There is no need to enumerate each item on the list of unfinished legislative business. The demand for enactment of this program lies in the hearts of our people —within and without the labor movement—and they have made clear their sentiments at the polls.

Labor's program promises no blueprint for utopia, and accordingly it is subject to criticism by the utopians. We in the labor movement are constantly being asked to appraise and endorse schemes that are guaranteed to end all human woes, or to provide easy answers to some of our outstanding problems. Many of the proposals that come to us have merit; many of them could be successfully managed if the American labor movement had even a small fraction of the financial resources of the great corporations; and almost all of them are offered in good faith by their proponents. But practical considerations rule out most of these proposals. And American workers do not want their unions to leap into the unknown with schemes that may sacrifice the solid gains of the past in the quest for future successes.

The Fair Deal program enunciated by President Truman in his 1949 State of the Union message and the legislative programs adopted by organized labor in recent years point the way toward attainable objectives. They are solidly based on our legislative history during both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, and their enactment would produce a definite strengthening of our national levels of economic stability, civil rights and social welfare.

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The adoption of such a program—and I feel confident that it will be enacted within the foreseeable future—will solidify our government's determination to provide at least minimum protection for the needs of our people. To many critics of forward-looking governmental policies, the concept of the "welfare state"—in fact, even the most primary elements of President Roosevelt's New Deal—has appeared as a form of dictatorial "statism" that would force every section of the population, organized labor included, to submit to the whim of an all-powerful government. But American workers have too much faith in the validity of their democratic institutions to accept uncritically any such type of "horror" propaganda.

Nevertheless, the expansion of governmental activity into many new fields will require, on the part of organized labor, a continuous reëxamination of its own functions, and of its relations with government. There was a time when leaders of labor opposed any government move toward social insurance as a threat to the effective operation of labor unions. That attitude, though admittedly shortsighted, had an understandable background in the type of government that we tolerated during most of the first three decades of this century. Today, we can visualize far broader areas of coöperation between the labor movement and the federal government.

However favorable the administration we enjoy in Washington or in the state capitals, labor has no intention of surrendering its functions to government. Nor does organized labor in this country intend to become a mechanism of government by yielding its power to make decisions or policy to the state machinery. Looking about our world today, we are more than ever convinced of the correctness of our traditional policy of labor independence. The European labor movements are, of course, acting within the framework of their own traditions, and they are well serving the democratic needs of their own people. But our own labor tradition, which increasingly recognizes the need for effective political action, gives full value to the pioneering experimentation of the collective-bargaining process. I visualize organized labor as a great stimulant to governmental action, and in carrying out this process we help to retain the self-reliance of our people.

Thus, it seems clear to me that labor's economic activity has been primarily responsible for the recent increase in the federal minimum wage. That legislative improvement was attributable directly to the wage increases that labor has won through the collective-bargaining process. Proposals for the modernization of the social-security structure languished for years until organized labor, in the course of negotiations with industry, began to emphasize its demands for contractual security provisions. In both these cases, the efforts of an independent labor movement provide effective, if indirect, stimulus to legislative action. I want to see organized labor in America keep this leverage.

Labor, it is obvious, can contribute most effectively to the welfare of its own membership and of the general public by acting in concert with an administration of liberal political attitudes. The Taft-Hartley Act confirmed a lesson that we in the CIO had realized many years before—that labor cannot concentrate its attention on collective-bargaining problems without regard to the rules under which collective bargaining functions. Taft-Hartley was the final proof that labor must, if only for self-preservation, take an active part in the political-action process. Our political successes have been considerable during the last decade and I feel confident that labor's political action is our best guarantee of continued liberal government.

Labor has helped the two-party system, which for a time had lost much of its meaning, by giving such concentrated attention to issues as to force most office-holders and candidates to declare their positions in terms of liberalism or conservatism. In the North, that process is far along; in the South, it still lags. But the steady union organizational progress in the Southern states will certainly produce a change, over the long run, in the attitudes of the men and women who serve in Southern legislatures and Congressional delegations.

As labor's political influence grows, and the political parties respond to expressions of the people's will, the clamor for a third party is almost certain to diminish. Where the people cannot beat a reactionary candidate with one liberal opponent, I am not sanguine about their ability to defeat reaction with a divided opposition. And in those sections of the South where we are saddled with the equivalent of one-party rule, we must look not toward a third party but toward a second one. A militant program, such as the Democratic Party adopted in 1948, and a slate of candidates pledged to its enactment are our best guarantee of legislative progress. With labor more politically conscious than ever before, it is difficult to visualize the surrender of both major parties to the outright control of reactionary industrial and financial interests; and it is only in such an event that a third party could win public acceptance.

With labor at the crest of power and influence—and responsibility—in America, the way is open for long-range programs of social and economic reform. I have already mentioned the social-welfare program which labor regards as desirable and necessary. We must also come to grips with the problem of monopoly control of our nation's industry and natural resources. The staggering accumulation of financial power accruing to the great corporations in recent years threatens a seri-

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ous lack of balance in our national life. The Federal Trade Commission reports that in 13 major industries, three or fewer corporations maintain more than 60-percent control; three steel corporations own 49.2 percent of that industry's net capital assets and 58.9 percent of its steel-ingot capacity. Government statistics show that the rich are expanding their control over our national wealth and savings while millions of families live at submarginal levels.

More effective checks and balances over the distribution of wealth and economic power are in order, both for our own domestic welfare and for the preservation and strengthening of America's democratic influence throughout the world. Tremendous masses of privately controlled financial power can rock our nation—and in fact our world—as effectively as a cannon rolling loose in a ship's hold. Unsocial investments, at home or overseas, can create stresses and tensions from which all of us will suffer. I believe firmly in free enterprise, but I also am firmly convinced that the business community has no license to act without responsibility for the public welfare.

These are problems of great dimensions, but they will certainly be solved within the framework of our capabilities as a democratic nation. During a lifetime devoted to the labor movement, I have witnessed advances in the status of our workers and of the entire population which exceed the most optimistic forecasts of my youth. During these decades our social and economic institutions have become more complex, but we have progressed steadfastly toward the better life which is the aim of all men and women of good will. The intelligence, common sense and courage of the American people have carried them through two wars and a series of economic crises. Today, as we stand at the threshold of the atomic, electronic era, I remain optimistic that the qualities which have inspired labor and the nation in the past will enable us to continue a role of world leadership in humanity's quest for peace, freedom and economic progress.

POISONING THE SKIES

by Bruce Bliven

THE SUN never really rose, that Wednesday morning in October, 1948. The inhabitants of the little city, when they awoke, saw it glow redly above the eastern horizon for a while, but it soon faded out in the heavy yellowish fog which hung over the town. There was an acrid smell to this fog; in the windless air, people could hear their neighbors coughing and gasping and the doctor's telephone ringing in his house down the block. As the day wore on—and the next day and the next—the coughing and gasping in many houses became more desperate; nothing could stop it. The town's few ambulances roared through the streets, carrying victims of the fog to the hospital, where exhausted doctors and nurses, themselves half-strangled, worked heroically with medicated masks, heart stimulants, all that medicine knew. Before the fog finally lifted on Sunday, 4,000 of the area's 14,000 had needed medical care. Twenty of them lay dead.

That was Donora, Pennsylvania, in October, 1948. The 20 killed, the 4,000 sickened, in this small city, a few miles southeast of Pittsburgh, and in the companion town of Webster, just across the Monongahela River, were chiefly victims of sulphur dioxide, acid mist and metallurgical dust, poured out from the chimneys of local factories under highly unusual weather conditions, which for five windless days pressed the fumes back toward the earth.

Just about a year earlier, the three million people in and around Los Angeles awoke one morning to find the area similarly smothered with a clinging blanket of acrid smog. Their eyes and throats began to tingle and smart. Before the day was done, *more than one million persons* had suffered sufficient trouble with their eyes to interfere to some extent with their normal occupations. Many had to seek medical aid. The damage in this case was largely due to fumes in the air, coming from foundries and oil refineries in the district.

These instances are dramatic, sufficiently so to get into newspaper headlines. Not so dramatic, but equally important, is the day-in, day-out peril to millions of Americans living in industrial areas, the possibility that their disease level may be heightened and their lives shortened, by man-made impurities in the air they breathe and the reduction in sunshine. (Dr. Clarence A. Mills of the College of Medicine, University of Cincinnati, a distinguished expert in this field, believes that many inhabitants of Donora will have respiratory difficulties as long as they live.) We know that air pollution, most of it needless, costs at least $1.5 billion annually in this country (in New York City alone, the sum may reach $1 million a day). These conditions, as is pointed out by Dr. Louis McCabe of the US Bureau of Mines, have become really serious only in the past 10 years, during which time our industrial equipment has increased 40 percent and our output 200 percent (in dollar value). In many areas we are near the point at which what the experts call "the natural scouring action of the atmosphere" no longer suffices to carry off the wastes. It is not surprising that, at the suggestion

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of President Truman, Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman has called a national air-pollution conference to meet in Washington on May 3.

The indifference of many sections of industry to this menace is amazing. The poisonous fumes which killed 60 people in the Meuse Valley near Liège, Belgium, in 1930, came principally from the chimneys of smelters which were already archaic; yet plants of the same archaic type were operating in Donora in October, 1948, were still operating six months later when the US Public Health Service investigated the disaster and, for all I know, are operating still. Dr. Mills points out that even in April, 1949, four tons of toxic substances were being emitted into the Donora atmosphere every day, some of them in concentrations far higher than are considered safe. The fumes have destroyed all plant life over a considerable area in Donora and in Webster, thus disturbing nature's ecological balance; they have probably (though no one has investigated this) killed much animal life as well.

These conditions continue in scores of communities all over the country, although the average industrial firm could make its chimneys safe by adding only two percent to its plant investment. This would be done chiefly by using modern fuel-burning equipment, changes in manufacturing processes, collecting smoke in filters and the use of devices such as electrostatic precipitators.

A few weeks ago, a press dispatch from Los Angeles said that "enraged Californians today demanded the immediate closing of all oil refineries and recall of Los Angeles' whole Board of Supervisors." The report spoke of "thousands of acres of leafy vegetables ruined" by smog, and the shutting down of air and ship traffic intermittently for two weeks. Experts say that until very recently more than 800 tons of sulphur dioxide entered the Los Angeles atmosphere every day, nearly all of it from oil refineries and chemical plants. As a result, whenever smog is serious, dry brown spots appear on spinach, endive, romaine and other leafy vegetables, and nothing can be done but to plow them under. In the past three years damage to truck gardens alone, in the Los Angeles area, has exceeded $1 million. In the Pacific Northwest, lawsuits amounting to $2.5 million are in the courts because of damage to vegetation.

The high cost of polluted air includes wages lost from respiratory illness, added expenditures for laundry, frequent redecoration of homes, interruption of air travel, injury or death to domestic animals, damage to farm crops and needless loss of expensive fuel, since excessive smoke usually means inefficient combustion. Many factories lose valuable byproducts by letting them go to waste. It is suspected, but not proved, that air pollution may cause an increase in cancer of the lungs.

Doing anything about this problem is a delicate and difficult matter. American cities suffer from excessive local pride; they are reluctant to admit their air is polluted. The worst offenders are often big factories, oil refineries and steel and chemical plants, which are respected—not to say feared—by local authorities and newspapers. (It is bitterly amusing to read the long and solemn reports sometimes put out by scientific laboratories on conditions in various localities, reports which wriggle like a worm on a hook to avoid naming the firms and processes responsible.)

Certainly, the situation is not hopeless. Great improvements have been achieved in Pittsburgh, in St. Louis (where the street lights once had to be turned on at nine o'clock in the morning) and in many other towns. Even Los Angeles is beginning to move. Already, because of efforts of its Air Pollution Control Office, several hundred tons of sulphur are being prevented each day from escaping into the atmosphere. Los Angeles will shortly try to curb the dust and gases from two big open-hearth steel plants, something never attempted elsewhere. The city will also build several municipal incinerators.

Experts insist that before conditions can be ameliorated in any community, two stipulations must be met. You must have local or state laws, preferably the latter, with plenty of teeth. You must also have a really aroused local public opinion, so that the town will go at the problem the way it sells Liberty Bonds in the middle of a war. At the same time, people must be educated to realize that it takes years to bring real betterment, and that grave setbacks must be expected.

Industry is not the only culprit in air pollution. Householders must be taught how to stoke furnaces, and, as far as possible, antiquated heating equipment ought to be replaced. Modern incinerators should be installed for both small and large-scale burning of refuse. The community must be taught not to burn vegetable matter, destroying the cycle of nature, but to use it as compost, for fertilizer. Internal-combustion engines must be kept in proper condition, especially Diesels. If smudge pots and other devices are used for heating orchards, they must be controlled. Smoky solid fuels should be prohibited, or they should be burned in equipment designed for their smokeless combustion, as is now done in St. Louis, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Providence, Nashville, Syracuse and other towns. Additional factories in known "weather pockets" like Donora should be prohibited. Big plants should employ weather experts with authority to close down operations when dangerous conditions exist. In other words, air pollution is like so many other ills which afflict mankind: it can be prevented if enough people want urgently enough to do so.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: The Court Proposes, Interior Disposes

A STEAL of public property of the greatest magnitude in American history is already off to a fast start. I have always been chary about applying the characterization "Teapot Dome" to what, after all, have been relatively minor scandals. Nor do I shout "Teapot Dome" now. The reason that I do not is that the Teapot Dome episode was mere penny-snatching to what is being attempted today with the connivance, or at least with the somnolent indifference, of public officials in high places. Such a cynical attitude toward what, if the police do not arrive in time, would be the crime of the American centuries, I have never witnessed. Even the newspapers, for the most part, have refused to be interested.

When that precious pair, Justice Tom C. Clark and former Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug, were still operating as members of President Truman's Cabinet, they entered into a stipulation with the even more precious Attorney General Howser of California with respect to the tidelands oil of that state. This stipulation provides that, upon certification by the US Geological Survey that there is drainage of tidelands oil belonging to the government, the state of California may grant leases that will give direct access to such oil. Subsequently, on October 27, 1947, as reported in 332 U.S. 805, Mr. Chief Justice Vinson of the Supreme Court of the United States announced the entry of an Order and Decree containing the following language:

> It is further ORDERED that the stipulation between the United States Attorney General and the Secretary of the Interior on the one hand and the Attorney General of California on the other, which stipulation purports to bind the United States, be stricken as irrelevant to any issues now before us.

This stipulation may have been stricken by the Supreme Court, but it still is in full force and effect so far as the parties to it are concerned. As a matter of fact, it has been given the force of law and the state of California recently has granted two leases that will give access to federally owned oil, a full mile seaward of the low-water mark at Huntington Beach. It had been determined by the US Geological Survey that the Signal Oil and Gas Company and the Southwest Exploration Company, the latter of which is controlled by Standard Oil of California, are draining oil from the federal lands. Ostensibly to stop this drainage of oil belonging to all of the people, the state of California has illegally granted to each of these companies permission to drill for this same oil so that they can pump it out more rapidly and in greater quantities. Whereas, to date, Signal and Southwest Exploration have had to be content with a little skim milk, they have now, by a bald usurpation of legal power, been granted direct access to great quantities of cream in the form of an immense deposit of high-quality oil. It happens that the new leaseholds lie on an anticline which, theoretically at least, contains vastly more oil than is in place today in the original leaseholds of the two companies concerned.

Billions of barrels of oil are involved in this overt steal so that it necessarily follows that billions of dollars are also involved. Not only Attorney General Howser of California, but Governor Earl Warren, who could control the State Lands Commission of California if he cared to do so, along with certain officials in Justice and Interior, will find it necessary to attempt to convince the people whose interests are being betrayed that they have not been faithless to the trust assumed by them. It is, of course, impossible within the limits of a page adequately to present the case of the people in this attempt to overreach them. Subsequently, I shall recur to the subject of tidelands oil, as related to strict adherence to duty on the part of certain public officials. At the moment, I shall merely outline a few facts which those who are interested may ponder pending the presentation of additional evidence.

Instead of proceeding to administer the oil lands off the coast of California that the Supreme Court on two occasions has said belong to the American people, Attorney General Clark and Secretary of the Interior Krug industriously set about to discover how the effect of those decisions might be evaded. Under orders from Secretary Krug, the Interior Department threw out all applications that had been pending, some of them for many years, for federal leases of off-shore oil lands. Then Mr. Krug asked Solicitor Mastin G. White (a Texan) for an opinion as to whether the Federal Mineral Leasing Act, under which oil leases on the public domain are granted, applies to the tidelands. Harry M. Edelstein, who should have known better, wrote an opinion favoring the oil companies in that it held that the Leasing Act did not apply. Solicitor White signed this opinion as his own, thus adopting it. Secretary Krug, without demur, accepted the Edelstein-White unconditional surrender to the oil interests. Attorney General Clark (another Texan), not unnaturally concurred in the opinion of his fellow Texan, Mastin G. White. The result was that the nation found itself possessed of unpredictably rich oil deposits without any means of using or benefiting from those deposits, either by way of national defense, aid to the schools or payments on account of our huge public debt.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE ANATOMY OF JAMES JOYCE

by Nathan Halper

THOSE WHO WRITE about *Finnegans Wake* do it on two different fronts. They explain a few allusions. After which, they penetrate to its innermost essence. The area that lies between the epidermis and the soul is relatively ill-explored.

L. A. G. Strong announces that he is at home in Joyce's Dublin, Shakespeare, Swift, Jung, Blake, music, theology and writing. Thus equipped, he could chart the area mentioned above—the area that contains the book's muscle and its bone, the viscera, the heart and brain. Instead of doing so, Strong spots allusions. Then, on the second front, he issues dicta.

THE SACRED RIVER, by L. A. G. Strong (Methuen; 10 shillings, sixpence).
JAMES JOYCE, by W. Y. Tindall (Scribner's; $2).

The dicta seem to have no visible means of support. Thus, he says that *Finnegans Wake* is full of "unconscious material." A couple of examples should suffice to prove this point. He does not give them. As a matter of fact, he does not need them. "Nothing short of tuning in to the feeling and atmosphere of the book will bring conviction." Since he knows Joyce's Dublin, he is on the proper wave-length.

He goes on to tell us that Joyce lacked a human sympathy. He feared feeling; he suppressed it. But, in his latest work, he attempted to realize his suppressed, feminine side. Like Blake, he tried to link religion to this feminine principle—"Joyce would probably have been furious had it been suggested to him that his deepest purpose was unconscious, or that *Finnegans Wake* was a devotional work . . . *his rage would have been irrelevant, except as evidence that there was good foundation for the charge, or rather, the tribute.*" (Italics mine—N. H.)

By using Joyce's hypothetical anger as evidence, Strong could prove almost anything. Joyce would "probably have been furious" at the suggestion that he was an Orangeman or that he wrote romances under the pseudonym of Elinor Glyn.

So much for his dicta. In addition, Strong shows that he can identify allusions, and in his hands they also have a quality that's all their own. Let us take the case of Kate.

Kate, an aged widow, is the maid-of-all-work in the Earwicker home. On a different level, she is Ireland, a drudge, in the house of Great Britain. On page 79, we learn that her second name is Strong. Strong (being modest) tells us Joyce is thinking of Susan Strong, a Dublin singer.

Why is he thinking of her? What is he thinking of her? Strong does not say. Is he thinking of her at all? Strong is very silent. He simply spots allusions. That is where the matter rests. If, however, we assume that Joyce must have had a reason, then we skip the divination. We do a little work. We find that English *strong* is the same as Gaelic *bridget.*

The inference is then as follows:

Ireland was the goddess Bridget; she was the Christian saint. In either incarnation, she was young, radiant; she was patron of the arts.

Under British domination, Kathleen turns into Kate. Ireland becomes a widow. Translated into English, Bridget turns into Mrs. Strong. She's the slop who does the chores. Bridget's art has become "the cracked looking-glass of a servant."

We get a bit of meaning. We get a bit of feeling. Maybe it is really better not to do any divination.

W. Y. Tindall thinks that Joyce is full of feeling, warmth and almost infinite compassion. He feels that Joyce's books are as thoughtfully organized as any books have been.

He possesses no hazel wand. When he faces an allusion, Tindall has to ask, "What's it doing in this book? What does it mean in human terms?"

In the dream-scene in *Ulysses*, the Croppy Boy appears to Stephen. Strangled by the hangman's rope, he says, "Horhot ho hray ho rhother's hest." Strong would tell us that the Croppy Boy is an Irish song. Tindall knows this too. But that isn't where he stops. Looking at its text, he finds that these sounds correspond to the line, "*Forgot to pray for my mother's rest.*"

This brings us back to Stephen—who refused to pray for his. His sense of guilt presses on him like a noose.

Though the above example was taken from *Ulysses*, its insight into Joyce's method tells us more of *Finnegans Wake* than a whole volume full of Extra-Sensory Perceptions.

James Joyce has its faults. Tindall tries to paint a Portrait of the Artist as a Kindly, Sweet Old Man. When he does, he contradicts what his own research finds.

He shows how Joyce's voice is frequently a voice of pain. At the same time, he speaks of Joyce's equanimity. He shows how Joyce lampooned a number of his contemporaries. Then he tells us Joyce forgave them.

He likes to think that Joyce has written a work of affirmation, that he cries *Yea* unto Life. This is true. But his Yea includes a Nay to all that stifles Life. To Church. To State. To many of his fellow men: "I am lothing . . . all the greedy gushes out through their small souls . . . all the lazy leaks down over their brash bodies. How small it's all!"

These are not the only flaws. But, in a book on Joyce, errors cannot be avoided.

Finnegans Wake still remains a brand-new continent. The problem of *Ulysses* still is not completely solved. As long as this is so, a book on Joyce is a voyage of exploration; that is how it must be judged.

This one is among the best of the lot. It has an eye for meaning. It has an ear for feeling. It profits by the findings of the previous explorers. And, on numerous occasions, it makes findings

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of its own, thus extending known horizons.

This book has another virtue. Reading Joyce is lots of work. It is also lots of fun. Tindall shows us that the fun is worth the work.

Nathan Halper has written several articles on Joyce for magazines and critical symposia. He is now at work on a book on the patterns of Finnegans Wake.

THE MERELY NEW

THE CANNIBAL, by John Hawkes (New Directions; $1.50).

IN *The Cannibal*, a new writer, John Hawkes, with the complicity of New Directions Press and urged on by the considered encomia of Albert J. Guérard (Faulkner, Kafka, Conrad and Djuna Barnes are the touchstones he applies in his enthusiastic introduction), presents a "surrealistic novel" which manages for long stretches to make dullness and surrealism appear practically synonymous. Actually the book is a series of related images (some fresh and sharp) and fragmentary sketches (a few vividly effective), gimcracked together with a semblance of plot and allegory, in which a single, fantastic, imaginary village in occupied Germany, a handful of its occupants and an American overseer are meant to express the deepening horror of the entire modern world.

Hawkes's interest seems largely *visual*; the majority of his images and effects are the kind which would be most successful if used in a visual medium—painting, the dance, cinema. He is also bold and can, occasionally, achieve astonishing things; but rather than cumulate, they end by boring. Of the true novelist's concern for people, emotions, character, there is practically no evidence in *The Cannibal*. Missing, too, and understandably—Hawkes was 22 when he completed this novel—is selectivity. Detailed attention is repeatedly lavished on incidents and physical scenes for their own sakes, rather than as parts in an over-all design. Guérard, in his oddly defensive introduction, speaks of "energy, tension, brilliance of phrasing"; these are undeniably present in some parts of the book, but all too often the intensity flickers, dies out and has to be revived by means of strained images or a deliberately startling shift of focus.

Moreover, the prose lacks a beauty of surface, essential to a work which boldly deprives itself of the story interest of conventional realism. Whatever irony is present is of the heavier, simpler sort; of humor, wit or narrative suspense (as, say, in Kafka) there is not a trace, nor does the amount or quality of insight, of esthetic, social or psychological truth justify the book's existence. At one final mock-crucial point Hawkes writes: "She heard the breathing, the interminable low sounds, the sounds so necessary to a nightmare, the rustling of cloth, perhaps a soft word mumbled to itself." These phrases aptly describe the quality of his own book, perhaps also his deliberate intention—"the sounds *so necessary* to a nightmare."

One wonders: is the only answer to the increasing commercialization of American literature an increasing emphasis on the *different*, the deliberately distorted and out of focus? To this critic this direct, naïve revolt seems a form of capitulation in reverse, with vulgarized mass culture, in effect, determining the esthetic of a serious work. It is by this road, it would appear, that the publishers (and, possibly, the author) came to stress almost entirely the *newness* in a work, rather than its specific direction and achievement.

ALEXANDER KLEIN

FREEDOM RE-EXAMINED

THE EDUCATION OF FREE MEN: AN ESSAY TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION FOR AMERICANS, by Horace M. Kallen (Farrar, Straus; $5).

HORACE M. KALLEN'S book on *The Education of Free Men* is another indication that our traditional concept of freedom is due for reëxamination and reinterpretation. In the past, freedom has generally been identified with absence of restriction, a negative definition that provides no significant principle for the guidance of belief and conduct and becomes increasingly inadequate for the needs and demands of modern life. What Dr. Kallen aims to show is that the concept, when invested with a positive meaning, opens a new road to the good life.

The positive view of freedom springs

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from the insight that men are made free, not by removing or minimizing restrictions, but by providing the constant widening of opportunity for development of personal capacity through participation in the common life. Freedom in this sense means an ideal of coöperative social relationships; it becomes a gateway to a set of distinctive standards and values; in brief, it becomes the embodiment of what is meant by democracy. The education of free men has as its central point of reference the fact that we are living in a period when "democracy" is becoming a challenge to tradition as a distinctive and competing way of life. To educate effectively, our basic philosophy needs to be overhauled and revamped. Such considerations lead Dr. Kallen to offer as a subtitle for this volume: "An Essay Toward a Philosophy of Education for Americans."

That being Dr. Kallen's point of view (and it is presented with insight and with breadth of scholarship), one might suppose that it would not be difficult to plot the curve of the subsequent argument. First, we should expect a strong insistence that America is now at the crossroads, where a choice must be made between a positive meaning of freedom and some form of authoritarianism or absolutism. Second, we should expect to be shown the alternatives involved in this choice, with respect to such matters as the nature of morality, the nature of truth, and the nature of method. Third, we should expect to have pointed out to us the bearing of all this on the organization and administration of school life, the purpose of education, the relation of culture and vocation, and the like. How else are we to arrive at a philosophy of education for Americans?

For some reason, these expectations do not materialize. For example, the argument for democracy as a social and moral ideal is presented with persuasive inner conviction, but no serious attempt is made to show that an ideal resting on a purely social sanction cannot be harmonized with the familiar belief that moral authority traces back to some transcendental or cosmic sanction. Many "good" people hold to both beliefs without suffering any serious internal disturbance, and their serenity is not likely to be disturbed by the reading of this book. The topics discussed range from the "Schoolmarm" and the social prolongation of infancy to the relation of the school to Free Enterprise and to the Place of War in the scheme of things. The discussions are fruitful and stimulating within their own framework, but they do not take us far toward a better understanding of the basic issues which are at stake in this troubled period in our national history.

According to the publishers, Dr. Kallen's volume offers a "revolutionary analysis of the role of education in a free society," but revolution is as revolution does. Whatever dynamite there may be in this "analysis" is present in the form of implications, but these implications were not originally discovered by Dr. Kallen nor are they made explicit in his presentation. His book, despite the admirable tangential observations it makes on the subject, is not a major contribution to the problem of what constitutes a genuinely democratic system of education. BOYD H. BODE

Boyd H. Bode is professor emeritus of Education from Ohio State University and is the author of a number of books. He is now lecturing at the University of Florida.

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ON THE AIR: Lake Success Story

THERE WAS a BBC-ish quality about "All Your Strength," a program I heard recently over NBC. A half-hour show, its theme developed slowly; about 12 of the precious minutes were devoted to painting in the locale, developing character—minutiae which the American radio writer or director normally sacrifices in the interest of plot. But in the 30 minutes, an important story was told—and it was the more powerful because a leisurely pace had built the background so firmly.

A week later, Mutual carried a full-hour broadcast that was also different. It was an "actuality" show called "Eleven Memory Street." The narrator was not an actor but a reporter and radio writer. He was describing an experience he had lived. Every voice he brought forth was the voice of someone relevantly and intimately connected with his story. There wasn't a professional actor in the lot; they were not just people, they were *the* people involved. It was probably the best "actuality" ever broadcast in this country.

Both these programs were part of the schedule undertaken for 1950 by the United Nations Radio Division. The names may mean little to you, but those responsible for the NBC program were W. Gibson Parker and Don Pringle; for the Mutual show, Alan E. Sloane and Gerald Kean.

By far the most exciting exploitation of radio's potentials is coming these days from Lake Success. Altogether, UN Radio is feeding six feature programs to NBC, six more to Mutual, between February and September. The list included here covers only the first half of the project.

Mutual's programs are being produced by Norman Corwin, who is also writing several. The NBC group is being produced by Mavor Moore, director-producer of Toronto's New Play Society, who has done outstanding work for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Prominently involved in the two series in one way or another—as supervisor, producer, director or writer—are all those mentioned above, plus Lawrence Gilliam, one of the BBC's best producers, Canada's writer-director team of Lister Sinclair and Andrew Allen, and writers Howard Rodman and Jeff Sparks.

American radio has not always been interested in the UN's "network for peace." I recall that four years ago the National Association of Broadcasters could find no place on its annual convention agenda for a spokesman for UN Radio. One member of the NAB's board was finally moved to threaten that he would raise open hell unless a cordial invitation were extended to Chile's Benjamin Cohen, the UN's Assistant Secretary-General in charge of the Department of Public Information. Under duress, the NAB finally invited Cohen, who came, spoke, and heard himself applauded with frigid politeness.

By contrast, the 1950 convention planners, approaching speakers for the annual gabfest in Chicago next month, sent an urgent invitation to Carlos P. Romulo, president of the General Assembly. The difference is not so much in the NAB as in the quality (and quantity) of UN Radio programming.

It has taken a couple of years for that improvement to sink into the consciousness of American broadcasters. In 1948, Peter Aylen, who runs radio under Cohen, started seriously to bolster his output for American listeners. He lured Gerald Kean away from Hollywood and Dorothy Lewis away from her job at the NAB, where for nine years she had tried, most of the time against odds, to build community relations. A year ago, Aylen further strengthened the setup by appointing Corwin as director of special radio projects. The trio has come through.

Because they know that UN Radio will give them the opportunity to say their say constructively—and that radio will use their material—some of America's best writers are falling over themselves to accept UN script assignments. I would like to write detailed reviews of the programs already broadcast, but I feel it is more important to give space to the listing, so that you may judge for yourself.

SAUL CARSON

UN AIR SCHEDULE

March 26—*Document A/777:* The Universal Declaration of Human Rights; *Mutual.*

April 9—*Shooting Gallery:* The International Narcotics Commission; *NBC.*

April 16—*Land, Sea and Air:* The International Civil Aviation Organization; *Mutual.*

May 7—*V-E Day Anniversary: Mutual.*
—*Your Health, Sir:* The World Health Organization; *NBC.*

June 18—*Trustee:* The UN's Trusteeship Council; *Mutual.*
—$E=MC^2$: Atomic energy as a "formula for peace"; *NBC.*

Network originating times in New York are: *Mutual*, Sundays, 9-10 p.m.; *NBC*, Sundays, 1-1:30 p.m. Local stations, however, may change the schedule. Watch your daily newspapers. Also highly recommended for listening:

Memo from Lake Success: every Sunday, 6:15 p.m., *CBS.*

UN Today: Daily reporting, five times a week, over 150 local stations in the US and the Dominion Network of Canada.

UN Story: 15-minute documentary, once a week, varying days and times, over more than 400 radio stations in the US and Canada.

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Th[illegible] by-Face Rabelais

I WAS SURPRISED to [illegible] "Now I Lay Me Dow[illegible] new play by Elaine Ryan [illegible] of Ludwig Bemelmans. I ha[illegible] the play was sprawling, clutte[illegible]ue and pointless. I see what my informants meant, but even without rebutting their criticisms, I confess to a certain odd pleasure in the show. It has a quality, and its quality is its point.

The play is a primitively comic portrait of a man, a portrait which is the embodiment of an attitude. The man is an Ecuadorian general—Leonidas Erosa—a sort of feudal baron, given to genially desultory amours, generous eating and drinking, a strange attachment to a prim English secretary, and epilepsy. To this childish hedonist the pleasures of the flesh are paradise enough. He is as innocent and amoral as a baby. Credulous, sensuously romantic, immensely vulnerable, he prospers and rules because all who surround him are willing to enslave themselves to protect him. He is superior because he is complete. Everyone else is muddled by scruples, calculation, fears and mediocrity. Whoever is whole—even in barbarous naïveté—is to that extent admirable and heroic.

Miss Leonora Graves, the English secretary, is the foil to the character of the general. She is kind, loyal, sweet, respectable, eccentric, with a definite penchant for death. What Bemelmans seems to be saying with his two leading characters—although I am sure he would snort at the idea that he "says" anything—is that proper moralists in this world are really nuts, while people who yield to the true rhythm of nature must necessarily be gay, gorgeous, gaga animals.

You may believe that such a view of life points to perversity, but the fact that it finds a delighted expression in the play is what pleases me. There is nothing so disappointing in the theatre as smooth craftsmanship with a vacant face. Bemelmans' face is that of a wicked baby, with eyes gleaming at the Luna Park crazy-house which is his world. Whatever else you may think of it, it is a face—that is its distinction.

Neither the play's text nor its production is everything it should be, but the direction gropes for the right intent. Wolfgang Roth's settings do not come off, because they attempt literally to duplicate the Bemelmans touch. But a cartoon on the stage should not be rendered in two-dimensional cartoon terms. A special world must be created, and when we speak of a world we imply three dimensions rather than a papery flatness which addresses our eye without capturing our senses.

The acting, too, is heterogeneous, which gives an effect of grab-bag entertainment, rather than that of a hilarious wonderland with a slightly gamy flavor. Irene Moore has a genuine characterization as a voluptuous little savage, half-angel and half-cretin. Henry Lascoe plays a master-chef amusingly, like an aristocratic professor.

Fredric March is winning by virtue of the wholeheartedness with which he throws himself into the proceedings, but he is either not endowed with a sufficiently boisterous sensuosity of temperament or he was not sufficiently urged to a more gargantuan ribaldry. The fear of exceeding the norm of realism constrains the director, Hume Cronyn, and with him, most of the cast, so that Florence Eldridge, who plays Miss Graves with touching sincerity and skill, seems far too "sympathetic" in the rational sense, whereas, in the Bemelmans scheme of things, she should create a picture of fabulous absurdity.

To give such a play its correct theatrical form requires a daring, lacking in most people in the American theatre (except for our comedians)—the daring to achieve a purely artistic reality through the fantastic. It is dangerous merely to toy with stylization. I could wager that "Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep" will in the near future come into its own in some European production. Be that as it may, it remains a rare, if somewhat "high," dish in New York.

HAROLD CLURMAN

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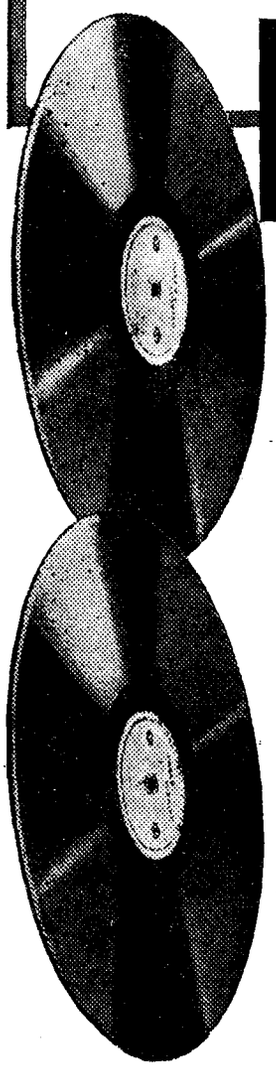

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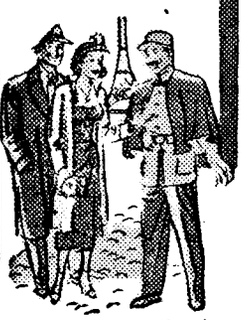

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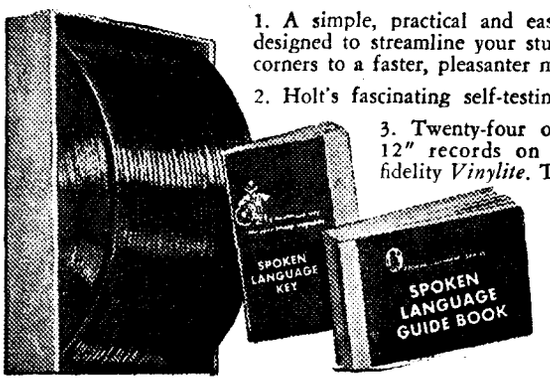

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